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AVERAGE WAGES - ENOUGH TO EAT (VIII)

From the data published in connection with the decree of 8 September 1956, which established the present minimum wage levels in the Soviet Union, it was possible to calculate that approximately 8 million wage earners,¹ or about 16% of the total non-agricultural labor force at that time, had been earning less than 250 R/month in 1956. The magnitude of this bottom layer of the Soviet wage pyramid came, even to the most cautious observers, as a very considerable surprise, but it did little to remove the cover of secrecy from the remaining strata of the Soviet wage structure.² In his recent speech to the Supreme Soviet, proposing the eventual abolition of personal income taxes on wages, N. S. Khrushchev has at last provided some relevant, if still incomplete, data which permits an exact calculation of the numbers of workers and employees at the next step in the Soviet wage scales. Thus, the First Secretary/Chairman of the Council of Ministers stated that a 40% cut in taxes for the 500-600 R/month wage bracket in 1960/61 would increase total earnings for that group by 3,600 million rubles per annum;³ from these data the figures of nearly 23 million persons earning between 500-600 R/month is obtained.⁴ With 59 million

¹ Pravda, 9 September 1956; see "Wages and Labor II," Background Information, 11 September 1956; also "Average Wages - Enough to Eat (I-VII), Ibid., 17 Feb. 1958, 3 March 1959, 30 July 1959, 2 Nov. 1959, 17 Dec. 1959, 19 Feb. 1960, 8 March 1960; "No Light on Wages (I & II), Ibid., 5 Jan. 1959, 11 Jan. 1960.

² For an attempt at a broad division of wage groups see N. Jasny: The Soviet 1956 Statistical Handbook, A Commentary, 1957, East Lansing, pp. 169-173.

³ Radio Moscow, 5 May 1960.

⁴ Applying the same methods to Khrushchev's data for the next years until 1965, the following results are obtained:

1961 -	20.5	million wage earners between	600-700 R/month
1962 -	18.7	" "	" 600-700 R/month
1963 -	7.3	" "	" 800-900 R/month
1964 -	6.8	" "	" 900-1000 R/month

persons expected to be in the non-agricultural labor force at the end of 1960,⁵ 40% fall into the category of those who scarcely earn enough to feed themselves and one dependent.⁶

It is still impossible to draw an accurate diagram of the wage stratification in the post-Stalin era. The two quantities which can be determined with a reasonable degree of exactness, however, suggest that the base of lowest paid workers has been much larger than previously estimated. If the 8 million affected by the minimum wage reform of 1956 are regarded as being separated from the 500-600 category by a 400-500 wage group of equal size, certainly a most conservative estimate, then 40 million or more than 2/3 of the present labor force must be considered as living at bare subsistence levels of 600 R or less per month. Such data raise justifiable doubts concerning the validity of Soviet statistics which result in the generally accepted figure of more than 800 R/month as the average wage of workers and employees in the USSR today; they reduce to utter incredibility the claim of the head of the Soviet trade unions that in 1959 average wages were between 833-1000 R/month.⁷ In other words, while Khrushchev's figures give a picture of a tremendous concentration of wage earners at the lower levels of the income scales, Grishin's claims suggest that the upper limit of a broad average salary is already above the planned average for 1965, 990 R/month.

To compound the statistical confusion, Khrushchev, perhaps in an effort to exaggerate the benefits of his proposals, summarized the total numbers affected as follows:⁸

After the abolition of income tax the cash wages of 59,400,000 people will increase by the whole amount of the tax they paid previously; the wages of several million will increase on an average of about half the tax they paid, and only the wages of an inconsiderable number of workers will remain unchanged."

⁵ A. Volkov, Pravda, 7 May 1960; see "State Labor - A Forecast for 1960, Background Information, 11 May 1960.

⁶ According to latest official data, each Soviet wage earner has 0.86 dependent.

⁷ According to V. Grishin (Problems of Peace and Socialism, #5, 1960, p. 17), the 1959 budget for social insurance amounted to 70,200 million rubles or "about 1,200 R for one worker or employee, about 10-12% of his annual wages."

⁸ Pravda, 5 May 1960.

Since only those earning incomes up to 1,000 R/month in 1965 will gain the entire amount of the tax, Khrushchev's statement leads to the inescapable conclusion that at the end of the 7-Year Plan when average wages are to be 990 R/month, only 7.1 million out of a planned total of 66.5 million workers and employees -- or only slightly more than 10% of the wage earners -- will have above the planned average income. Should this, in fact, be the case, the levelling of the wage pyramid from the top⁹ would be well on its way to completion; the problem of raising the incomes of the masses at the bottom would scarcely have begun.

In the present state of statistical uncertainty, the exact numbers of workers at each wage level must, unfortunately remain a matter of estimate rather than calculation for all except those at the bottom of the scale. But for these approximately 40 million earning subsistence wages another extremely interesting figure has now come to light from a Soviet source:¹⁰

"The data yielded by budget studies show that in workers' families with an income of up to 6000 rubles a year per family member, 66% of all expenditures on goods goes for the purchase of food products, while this figure is only 54.5% if the income per family member exceeds 9000 rubles. That is to say, the higher the income the more money is spent on non-food commodities and the less on food."

For families in which the income is less than 500 R per person per month, the converse is obviously true: a greater percentage must be spent on food. For these millions, how far below the average wage cannot be determined, earnings in 1960 still give little more than enough to eat, and for the food they buy they must, in terms of working time, expend more labor in 1960 than in 1928.¹¹ Reduction of the excessively high prices for food -- and other consumer goods -- not abolition of personal income taxes still remains the most essential prerequisite for a meaningful improvement in the real wages and living standards of Soviet workers.

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⁹ A serious discrepancy emerges from the use of Khrushchev's data involving the 1965 totals in the various wage groups between 100-2000 R/month.

<u>Earnings</u>	<u>% Tax Increment to Earnings</u>	<u>% Tax Used in Calculation</u>	<u>Number of Employees Calculated</u>
1000-1200	79	9	6.9 million
1200-1400	46	10	3.5
1400-1600	29	11	1.8
1600-1800	15	12	.5
1800-2000	10	13	.7
			<u>13.4 million</u>

¹⁰ Planovoye khozyaistvo, #2, 1960, p. 53.

¹¹ E. Nash, The Purchasing Power of Workers in the USSR, Monthly Labor Review, May 1960; see below pp. 1-13.

PURCHASING POWER OF WORKERS IN THE U.S.S.R.

By Edmund Nash
Monthly Labor Review (U.S. Dept. of
Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics)
LXXXIII, No. 4 (April 1960)

The purchasing power of Soviet workers has been increasing steadily in recent years, mainly as the result of rising wages. However, real earnings of the average worker in the Soviet Union, in terms of food-buying power, are still below the high point in the Soviet level of living reached in 1928, when private enterprise was permitted to a minor extent under the then New Economic Policy (the "NEP") and the peasants had not yet been forced into collective farms. The level of living declined after the introduction in September 1928 of the Five Year Plans (which continued through 1958), with their emphasis on the expansion of heavy industry. This emphasis has continued up to the present. The most recent Soviet statistical yearbook¹ reported that by 1958 capital goods production had increased to 570 percent of its 1940 level, while consumer goods production had reached only 270 percent. The Seven Year Plan (1959-65) called for an average annual increase of 9.4 percent in the production of capital goods, as against 7.4 percent for consumer goods.

Official Soviet price and wage data indicate that the average Soviet worker had to work about 8 percent longer in 1959 than he did in 1928 in order to buy for his family the same average weekly supply of seven essential foods -- bread, potatoes, beef, butter, eggs, milk, and sugar. (See table 1 and chart 1.) In particular, he had to work about 18 percent longer for sugar, about 1953 percent longer for milk, and 190 percent longer for eggs. Beef was just as "cheap" as in 1928, and potatoes and butter were slightly "cheaper." Comparable data for 1928 are not available for other consumer goods; however, other data clearly indicate that prices for these goods, especially clothing, also rose after 1928 at a higher rate than money earnings.²

In 1959, a Soviet worker, if the sole supporter of a family of four, would have had to work 28.49 hours, or 62 percent of the legal 46-hour workweek of most workers, to

¹ Narodnoe khoziaistvo SSSR v 1958 godu (The USSR National Economy in 1958) (Moscow, 1959, p. 142).

² For a discussion of the decline in real earnings in the Soviet Union between 1928 and 1952, see Janet G. Chapman, Real Wages in the Soviet Union, 1928-1952 (in Review of Economics and Statistics, Cambridge, Mass., May 1954, pp. 134-156).

buy enough of the seven foods listed for his family. An earlier study³ showed that in 1953 the average Soviet worker had to work approximately 38.17 hours for the same amount of food, or 79.5 percent of the then prevailing legal 48-hour workweek of most workers. The relatively high cost of food in the Soviet Union helps explain the exceptionally high percentage of the labor force who are women (47 percent of the labor force in January 1960 were women, compared with 35 percent in the United States). To ease the homework of employed women with families, the Soviet Government has been encouraging factory and other restaurants (some created solely for this purpose) to prepare take-home meals and cooked foods, and encouraging grocery stores to extend home deliveries of milk, bread, potatoes, and vegetables. However, in Moscow, where the system of home deliveries was most highly developed in mid-1958, less than 1 percent of the bread sold was delivered to homes.

The seven foods given in table 1 do not include various other customary and important foods such as vegetables (especially cabbage), fruits (in season), and tea. In 1953, presumably to hold down their expenditures for food, about 40 percent of the Soviet wage and salary earners (18 million out of a total of 44.8 million) worked individual or collective gardening plots to produce their own potatoes, other vegetables, and fruit. Home production of food may become less important in the future: A joint Communist Party-Government decision published in Pravda on January 27, 1960, provided for supplying the Soviet people with various processed foodstuffs to be obtained from the scheduled increased production by collective and State farms of potatoes, vegetables and fruit. The expectation apparently is that the people's earnings will increase in the years to come to enable them to buy the new processed foodstuffs.

Soviet Wage-Price Policy

The present policy is to increase purchasing power (real earnings) especially of low and average earners by increasing money wages, mainly through the promotion of higher labor productivity; this indicates a change in the policy dominant in the period 1947-54, when the Soviet Government considered the annual across-the-board price cuts on essential consumer goods as the "most important means of raising real earnings."⁴ Since 1954, there have been only occasional price cuts, mostly on luxury and semiluxury goods; for example, on July 1, 1959, prices were cut on bicycles, cameras, women's rayon stockings, wines, and children's toys, and on March 1, 1960,

³ Purchasing Power of Soviet Workers, 1953 (in Monthly Labor Review, July 1953, pp. 705-708).

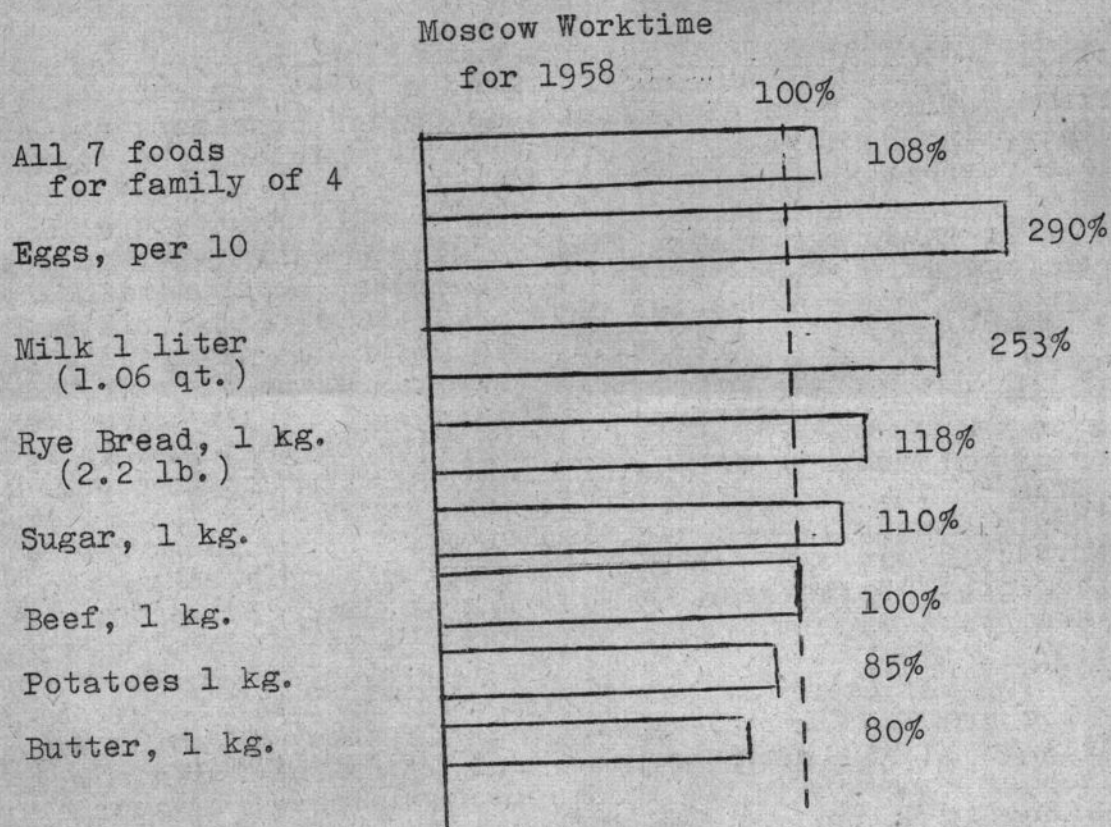
⁴ Pravda, April 3, 1953.

on electrical sewing machines, silk clothing, radios, motor scooters, accordions, safety razor blades, and certain other items. There have also been some price increases; for example, in 1958, for vodka, wines, automobiles, and machine-made carpets.

To encourage the purchase of certain high-priced consumer goods, the Soviet Government introduced installment buying in three Ukrainian cities in the spring of 1959, and in Moscow on October 1, 1959. In order to get credit, a buyer had to have a reference from his place of work, make a downpayment of 20 to 25 percent of the purchase price, and agree to pay the remainder within 6 to 12 months. By February 1960, installment buying had been expanded to about 2,000 stores in the Russian Republic, the largest of the 15 Republics in the Soviet Union. Radios and radio-honographs constituted about one-third of the installment purchases. Other popular items among installment buyers were woolens, silks, watches, and furs.

The Soviet worker's purchasing power also is affected by the availability of consumer goods, many of which are still in short supply despite rent increases. Since 1953, sales of consumer goods in State and cooperative stores in the Soviet Union has been increasing at a faster rate than the growth of population (which has risen about 1.5 percent annually). For example, in 1957, the volume of sales had increased 14 percent over 1956; in 1958, 6 percent over 1957; and in 1959, 8 percent over 1958. Despite this continued increase, the Central Statistical Administration in its economic report for 1959, which was printed in the Moscow daily press on January 22, 1960, specifically mentioned a shortage of cotton fabrics, furniture, and home refrigerators, and stated that in general, there was an insufficient assortment of consumer goods and too many low quality goods. Government and Party leader Nikita Khrushchev promised in a speech on March 14, 1958, that the scheduled production of clothing and footwear would meet the needs of the Soviet population by 1965. On March 20, 1958, an immediate increase in the production of children's clothing and footwear was decreed, and on May 7, 1958, the Central Committee of the Communist Party adopted a decision providing for speeding up production of synthetic materials to be used in the manufacture of fabrics, clothing, footwear, and other consumer goods. A joint Party-Government decree published on October 16, 1959, provided for sharply increased production in 1960 and 1961 of durable consumer goods such as refrigerators, television sets, washing machines, metal beds, electric irons, and kitchenware; automobiles, the cheapest of which costs about 25,000 rubles and which requires years of customer waiting, were not mentioned. The measures just enumerated indicate that for the Soviet people an adequate supply of consumer commodities is still a matter of the future.

Chart 1. Worktime Required to Buy Weeks Supply¹
of Selected Foods in Moscow, 1959 as a Percent of 1928



¹In Promyshlennno-ekonomicheskaya gazeta (Industrial Economica Gazete), November 4, 1956.

Average Earnings in the U.S.S.R.

Since the Soviet Government does not publish statistics on average money earnings in Moscow (or any other Soviet city), it has been necessary to estimate earnings from scattered data appearing in the Soviet press. The estimate arrived at is about 800 rubles (or \$80 at the tourist rate of exchange of 10 rubles for US \$1) a month, or approximately 4 rubles an hour. The prominent Soviet economist and member of the Academy of Sciences, S. Strumilin, in an article published in 1956,⁵ assumed an average hourly wage of 4 rubles. This estimate was evidently a rounding up of the actual average, because there is evidence of some increase in earnings since that time.

Factors which have contributed to increase the average money wage in recent years (the BLS estimate in 1953 was 600 rubles a month) include the reclassification of millions of workers annually into higher wage categories reflecting their acquisition of new work qualifications, the increase as of January 1, 1957, of minimum monthly basic pay rates, and the increase of lowest basic wage rates in connection with the new policy of narrowing the spread in wage rates (discussed later). Take-home pay has also been increased by the 1957 abolition of the special income tax on single persons and heads of small families, the 1957 exemption of additional low earners from income tax payment, and the abolition in 1957 of 50 percent of compulsory bond purchases and, as of January 1, 1958, of all such purchases (before 1957, bond purchases amounted to 3 or 4 weeks' pay annually).

Variations in Earnings. A wide variation in earnings exists in the Soviet Union not only between workers in different sectors of the national economy, as is illustrated in the following tabulation of selected salaries and wages in 1960, but also among production workers in particular industries.

	Monthly earnings 1960 (in rubles ¹)
Scientist (academician) -----	8,000-15,000
Minister (head of Government ministry or department) -----	7,000
Opera Star -----	25,000-20,000
Professor (science) -----	6,000-10,000
Professor (medicine) -----	4,000- 6,000
Docent (assistant professor) -----	3,000- 5,000
Plant manager -----	3,000-10,000
Engineer -----	1,000- 3,000
Physician, head -----	950- 1,800
Physician, staff -----	850- 1,000

⁵ Promyshlennno-ekonomicheskaya gazeta (Industrial-Economic Gazette), November 4, 1956.

	Monthly earnings 1960 (in rubles ¹)
Teacher, high school-----	850- 1,500
Teacher, primary school-----	600- 900
Technician-----	800- 2,000
Worker, skilled-----	1,000- 2,500
Worker, semiskilled-----	600- 900
Worker, unskilled-----	270- 500

1 The official rate of exchange, as fixed by the Soviet Government, is 4 rubles=US\$1. The actual purchasing power of the ruble, however, is more accurately represented by the official tourist rate of exchange of 10 rubles for US\$1.

2 The top salary at the Bolshoi Theater has been reported as 5,000 rubles a month. Outside appearances increase the artist's income.

For example, factory or plant managers receive about 3,000 to 10,000 rubles (\$300 to \$1,000) a month, not counting such perquisites as the use of a car or a house, compared with the 270 to 500 rubles (\$27 to \$50) of the unskilled workers. The minimum pay of 270 rubles a month for workers in nonurban areas was fixed by decree, effective January 1, 1957.⁶ The range in earnings for each type of position reflects the individual's initiative, his length of service, the amount of supervision and responsibility required of him, the type of industry, and other factors.

A Bureau of Labor Statistics study⁷ showed that in 1951, there was a much wider spread in the basic hourly wage rates of production workers in the Soviet steel and construction industries (whose wage structures were typical of most Soviet industries) than in the same industries in the United States. In the Soviet Union, the highest basic wage rate for skilled workers in each of these industries was approximately 3.6 times that of the lowest for unskilled workers, while in the United States, it was found that the ratio was approximately 2.2 in each industry. Since that time, however, the Soviet Government has adopted a policy of decreasing the spread in basic wage rates. The chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' State Committee on Questions of Labor and Wages reported in 1958⁸ that the then prevailing system of 8, 10, and 12 wage grades in various industries would be reduced to a system of 6 or 7 grades where the basic wage rate for the top grade would not be, as a rule, more than twice the lowest

⁶ Pravda, September 9, 1956.

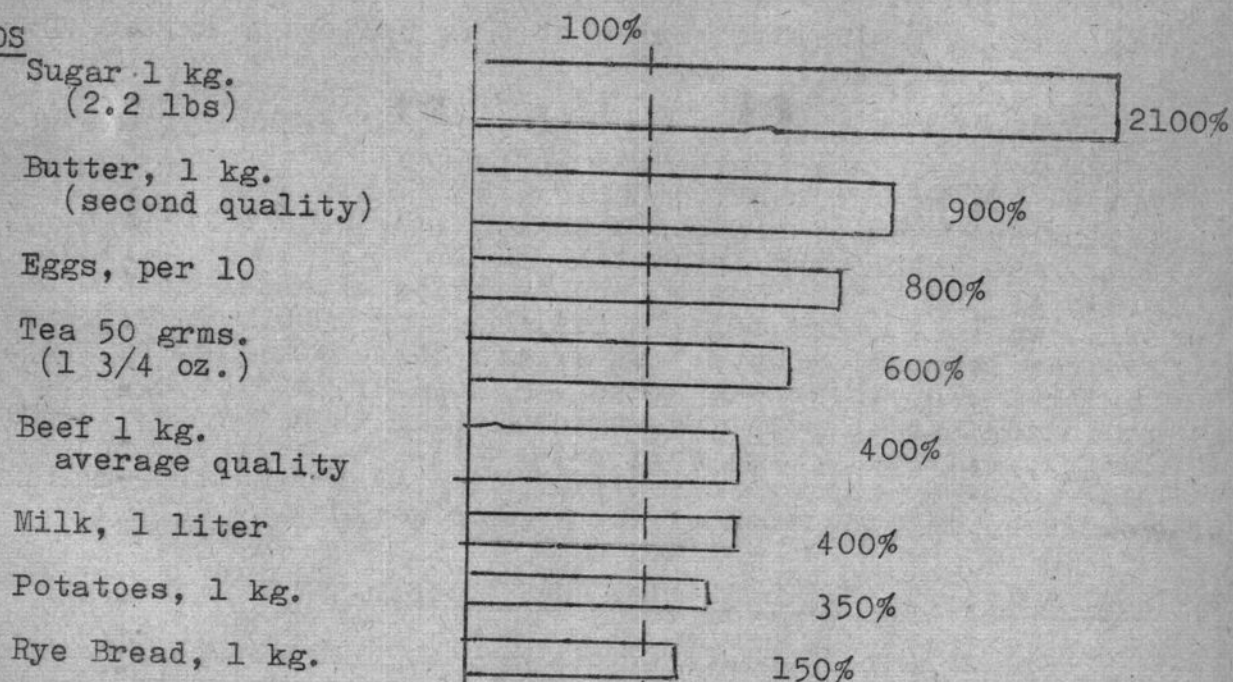
⁷ Wage Spread in the Steel and Construction Industries, U.S. and U.S.S.R. (in Notes on Labor Abroad, U.S. Department of Labor, August 1952).

⁸ Pravda, November 25, 1958.

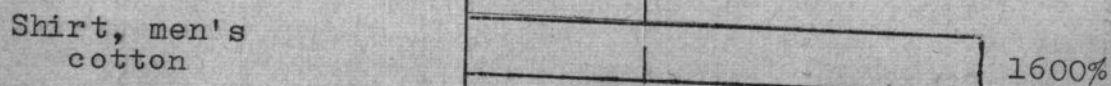
Chart 2: Worktime Required to Buy Selected Commodities, Moscow
as a Percent of New York City 1959

New York Worktime

FOODS



CLOTHING



wage rate. In implementation of this policy, a system of six basic wage rates was introduced in the construction industry, with a ratio of 2.1 to 1 between the highest and the lowest basic wage rates. In the chemical industry, a system of seven basic wage rates was introduced, with a ratio of 2.3 to 1. Most recently (during the fourth quarter of 1959), a single system of six basic wage rates, with a ratio of 1.8 to 1, was introduced in cotton and linen mills in certain areas of the Soviet Union, and is to be extended to woollen, silk, and all other textile mills during 1960. In all cases, the new low ratios have been or are to be achieved by raising the lower basic wage rates.⁹ However, Soviet sources indicate that in some industries, other than the textile industry, extremely high wage rates will be decreased and that take-home pay in some cases will drop as a result of the unscheduled introduction of the 7-hour workday.¹⁰

Real Earnings, United States and U.S.S.R.

Chart 2 and table 2 show that the average Moscow worker has to work much longer than the New York City worker to buy basic consumer goods. For potatoes, he has to work about 3 times as long; for beef and milk, 4 times; for eggs, 8 times; for butter, 9 times; and for sugar, 21 times. The worktime required to buy clothing is 8 to 16 times more in Moscow than in New York City, and reflects a clothing shortage in the Soviet Union. However, as previously indicated, this shortage is not as great as it was in 1953, when the worktime required to buy clothing in Moscow was 10 to 20 times more than in New York City.

The Soviet press frequently boasts that, unlike workers in the United States, Soviet workers have the benefit of low rentals and free medical services. Soviet medical care, however, is free only in the sense that the Soviet population does not pay for it directly on a fee-for-service basis; it is paid for by part of the funds obtained through taxation in the form of increased prices of consumer goods.¹¹ This

⁹ Sotsialisticheskii trud (Socialist Labor) (Moscow, December 1959), p. 47.

¹⁰ For discussion of the 7-hour workday decree, see Monthly Labor Review, January 1960, p. 44.

¹¹ For detailed discussion of medical services to workers, see Occupational Health Services in the Soviet Union (in Monthly Labor Review, November 1959, pp. 1218-1224). For a discussion of the extent of private health insurance available to workers in the United States, see Supplementary Wage Provisions in Major Labor Markets, 1953-59 (in Monthly Labor Review, October, 1959, p. 1131).

Table 2. Approximate Worktime required to buy selected Commodities at State-fixed Prices¹ in Moscow and at Retail Store Prices in New York City, August 15, 1959.

Commodity	Moscow price in rubles ²	New York City Price ³ in dollars	Unit	Moscow	New York City	Moscow work-time as a percent of New York City worktime
Foods:						
Rye Bread						
1 pound.....	0.59 ²	0.215 ²	Pound	9 min.	6 min.	150
1 kilogram...	1.30	.473	Kilogram	19.5 min.	12 min.	
Potatoes						
1 pound.....	.45	.060	Pound	7 min	2 min.	350
1 kilogram...	1.00	.132	kilogram	15 min.	4 min.	
Beef, rib beef,						
1 pound.....	5.45	.757	Pound	82 min.	21 min.	400
1 kilogram...	12.00	1.665	Kilogram	180 min.	46 min.	
Butter, salted,						
1 pound	12.27	.741 ²	Pound	184 min.	20.5 min.)	900
1 kilogram...	27.00	1.630	Kilogram	405. min.	45 min.)	
Sugar, 1. pd.	4.27	.110	Pound	64 min.	3 min.)	2,100
1 kilogram...	9.40	.242	Kilogram	141 min.	7 min)	
Milk, at grocery						
1 quart	2.08 ²	.273	Quart	31 min.	7.5 min.)	400
1 liter	2.20	.289	Liter	33 min.	8 min.)	
Eggs, 2nd grade						
per dozen	9.60 ²	.629 ²	Dozen	144 min.	17.4 min.)	800
per 10	8.00	.524	Per 10	120 min.	14.5 min.)	
Tee, 50 gr. (1 3/4 oz)	3.80	.200	{ Ounce (50 grs.	33 min. 57 min.	5.5 min.) 10 min.)	600

Commodity	Moscow price in rubles	New York City Price in dollars	Unit	Approximate worktime ⁴		Moscow work-time as a percent of New York City worktime
Men's clothing: Shirt cotton.... Suit, wool, Single Breasted middle of price range	60.00	2.03	Each	15 hrs.	56 min.	1,600
	1,100.00	50.41	Each	275 hrs.	23 hrs.	1,100
Shoes, leather, oxfords, pair	245.00	15.10	Pair	61 hrs.	7 hrs.	850
Women's clothing: Dress, street, rayon.....	294.00	10.00	Each	73 hrs. 30 min.	4 hrs. 36 min.	1,600
Shoes, leather oxfords, middle of price range.	230.00	11.21	Pair	57 hrs. 30 min.	5 hrs. 10 min.	1,100
Stockings, nylon	32.00	1.35	Pair	8 hr.	37 min.	1,300
Other commodities:						
Soap, toilet, 100 gr. cake (3 1/2 ozs.)...	2.10	.105	Each	31.5 min.	3 min.	1,050
Cigarettes, pck. of 20 ...	1.80 ⁹	.2510	Package	27 min.	7 min.	400
Vodka, pint	25.28	2.9810	Pint	6 hrs. 19 min.	1 hr. 22 min.)	450
1/2 liter	26.80	3.16	1/2 liter	6 hrs. 42 min.	1 hr. 27 min.)	

1 Prices observed on the open market, where collective farmers sell their produce, were much higher in comparison with State store prices. For example, potatoes were 1.50 rubles per kilogram; beef, 25 rubles per kilogram; and eggs, 15 rubles for 10.

2 Moscow prices in State stores, based on information appearing in the Soviet press; the prices for pound, quart, and dozen were calculated from Moscow prices for kilograms, liter, and 10 eggs, respectively.

3 New York City prices in retail stores were collected by the Bureau of Labor Statistics; the prices for kilogram, liter, and 10 eggs were calculated from New York City prices for pound, quart, and dozen, respectively.

4 Worktime figures for Moscow were computed on the basis of estimated average gross earnings of 4 rubles per hour of Moscow workers in manufacturing, a figure that is consistent with the Bureau of Labor Statistics' estimate of about 800 rubles a month. New York City worktime figures were computed from BLS retail prices and earnings in mid-August 1959 of \$2.17 per hour of production workers in manufacturing in New York City.

5 For white bread.

6 First quality (92-93 score).

7 Large eggs, grade A.

8 Lowest priced shirt in Moscow.

9 Brand name: Avtozavodskie.

10 Spirit blended whiskey.

taxation constitutes roughly one-half the price of all consumer goods.¹² It is universally admitted in the Soviet Union that housing is the biggest problem in every city.¹³ In 1957, the Government decreed a 12-year program to ease this situation.

The English-language newspaper Moscow News on September 16, 1958, reported that, under a 1926 decree still in force, Soviet workers expended only 4 to 6 percent of their monthly earnings for rent, the amount depending on the income of the tenant, the building in which he lived, and other factors. However, it was not mentioned that in Moscow, most families lived in only one room¹⁴ and had to share bathrooms and kitchens with other families, and that every family had to pay extra for such utilities as light and heat. One Soviet writer reported that in 1936 (it could be 1960 just as well, because of the Soviet unchanging rent rates), rent accounted for 5.4 percent of the worker's budget, and expenditures for heat, light, etc., accounted for an additional 4.9 percent, for a total of 10.3 percent.¹⁵ In the United States in 1950, the comparable total figure for renters was about 15 percent,¹⁶ but the average family lived in four or five rooms, with its own kitchen and bathroom.¹⁷

¹² For discussion, see Leon M. Herman, Taxes and the Soviet Citizen (in Problems of Communism, United States Information Agency, Washington, D. C., September-October, 1959, pp. 21-26).

¹³ Adlai E. Stevenson, in reporting on his visit to the Soviet Union in the New York Times (November 19, 1958, p. 20), said, "In every city, the 'Mayor' told me housing was his biggest problem."

¹⁴ According to data published in the newspaper Vechernaya Moskva (Evening Moscow), August 12, 1958, new housing in 1957 was allocated on a priority basis at the rate of about 6 square meters (about 65 square feet) per person; that is, a family of 4 received floor space equivalent to 2 rooms, each about 12 feet by 11 feet. In the new housing, each family has its own kitchen and bathroom.

¹⁵ N. L. Filatov, Ocherki po ekonomike i finansam sotsialisticheskogo zhilishchnogo khoziaistva (Articles on the Economics and Financing of Socialist Housing) (Moscow, 1947), p. 62.

¹⁶ Study of Consumer Expenditures, Incomes, and Savings (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1956-57), Vol. XVIII, table 6-4, p. 65.

¹⁷ 1950 Census of Housing, U.S. Summary, General Characteristics (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1953), Census Report H-A1, table 9, p. 1-7.